/154 cont./

622 Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

619 /155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending on the circumstances.

631 The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

● 428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

553 602 635 [801] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 553 601 602 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /õassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */õassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 613 622 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time 768 of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 648 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
22 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

428 The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
[768] man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried
[431] with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 56. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.